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**HISTORY OF SOVIET PROPOSALS ON  
DISARMAMENT AND INSPECTION**

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**CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
Office of Scientific Intelligence**

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The following pages contain summaries of the major Soviet disarmament proposals presented to the UN General Assembly, the Disarmament Commission or the Disarmament Sub-Committee between 1946 and 1958. The corresponding proposals of the Western nations have not been included, although in certain instances where the USSR has adopted Western figures or ideas, or where they have put forth specific counter-proposals, this fact has been noted.

Reference has been made to the Eisenhower-Bulganin or Eisenhower-Krushchev correspondence only when the letters have divulged a new facet of the Soviet viewpoint not previously presented. A small amount of historical information has been included parenthetically for clarification.

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19 June 1946, Draft Proposal

Contracting parties resolved to prohibit production and use of atomic weapons and:

not use atomic weapons under any circumstances

prohibit production and storage of such

destroy, within three months from day of entry into force of convention all finished and unfinished stocks of atomic weapons

Declare violation of above an international crime against humanity

Within six months of entry into convention pass legislation providing penalties for violation

The convention to be of an indefinite duration

The convention to be open to members and non-members of the UN

The convention to be in force after ratification by the Security Council

After entry into force, the convention shall be binding on all States, both members and non-members of the UN

29 November 1946, Draft Resolution

In addition to its former statements on the prohibition of use, production, and storage of atomic weapons, the USSR introduced the following points:

The necessity for a general reduction of armaments

The organization of special organs of inspection within the framework of the Security Council:

a Commission to control reduction of armaments

a Commission to control the use of atomic energy for military purposes

UN members to submit information on forces and armaments at the time the Security Council considers proposals for the general reduction of armaments

The Security Council to ensure effective implementation of general arms reduction, prohibition of production and use of atomic energy for military purposes, and the organization of control organs

(17 May 1947: The Atomic Energy Commission of the UN reported that it had reached an impasse. The USSR had refrained from voting on the Commission's first report on the scientific and technical feasibility of control and had voted against the second report, which had proposed specific control measures, as an infringement of national sovereignty. They held fast to their insistence that outlawing atomic weapons and destroying stockpiles precede any agreement on control.)

11 June 1947, Proposal to UN Atomic Energy Commission on Atomic Energy Control

This proposal appeared to be an attempt on the part of the Soviet Government to prove it was not opposed to control. It was put forth in addition to former proposals and in no way changed the Soviet demands for a treaty prohibiting atomic weapons prior to agreement on control. Its chief propositions were:

The establishment of an international control over all facilities engaged in mining raw atomic materials and producing materials and energy

The International Control Commission to have its own inspectorial apparatus

The terms and principals of atomic energy control and composition and the rights and obligations of the Control Commission to be determined by a special international convention on atomic energy control

The Control Commission to inspect periodically mining and production facilities (for production of materials, to verify accountings, check stores of materials, observe rules of technical exploitation and work out and prescribe rules for control, collect data on mining and production of materials and atomic energy)

The Control Commission shall make special investigations when suspicions of violations arise

The Control Commission shall make recommendations to the Security Council on measures for prevention and suppression in relation to violators and on the prohibition of atomic weapons and control of atomic energy

To facilitate its tasks, the Control Commission shall have:

access to any mining, production and stockpile facilities as well as exploitation facilities

acquaintance with production operations of atomic energy facilities to extent necessary for control

carry out weighing measurements and analyses of raw materials and unfinished products

request and check data from any government on activities of any atomic energy facilities

Scientific research activities in the field of atomic energy shall be based on: Compliance with a convention prohibiting use of atomic energy for military purposes

Signatory States of the convention shall have the right to unrestricted scientific research activities in atomic energy directed toward peaceful uses

The Control Commission shall have the possibility of carrying out scientific research activities in atomic energy for peaceful uses in order to keep itself informed

The Control Commission shall insure a wide exchange of information among nations on atomic energy and advise countries party to the convention and give them assistance

The Control Commission shall have research facilities at its disposal necessary for its research activities

11 June 1954, Proposal to Disarmament Sub-Committee

This proposal set forth the Soviet stand on general disarmament and reduction of forces as well as repeating its former control proposals for prohibiting production of atomic weapons and materials. It had been submitted as a Draft Resolution to the Sub-Committee on 1 June.

It is presumed that as a first step toward complete elimination of atomic, hydrogen, and other weapons of mass destruction, with the simultaneous establishment of strict international control, States will assume an obligation not to use atomic, hydrogen, or other weapons of mass destruction.

An international convention should contain:

reduction of all armaments and all land, naval and air forces, primarily by the US, UK, France, and the Peoples' Republic of China by 1/3 to be effected during the year following entry into force of the convention

obligation of parties to the convention to reduce military expenditures within one year by not less than 1/3 of the 1953-54 level

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obligation of parties not to maintain military, naval, or air bases in other states and to liquidate existing bases within one year

Control organ:

shall inspect extraction of atomic crudes and production of atomic materials on a continuing basis without the right to interfere in domestic affairs of states

All states should prohibit propaganda designed to inflame enmity and hatred among nations or to prepare for a new world war

30 September 1954, Draft Resolution for General Assembly

A Disarmament Treaty to be based on the British-French proposals of 11 June 54

The treaty was proposed in two stages:

Stage 1 (action to be taken simultaneously):

in the course of six months (one year) States shall reduce their armaments, forces, and military budgetary appropriations to 50% of the agreed levels, the bases for which are the levels existing on 31 Dec 53

a temporary international control commission shall be established under the Security Council with the right to require States to provide necessary information; Commission shall supervise fulfillment of treaty obligations; the States shall supply the Commission with information on implementation periodically

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Stage 2 (action to be taken simultaneously, on completion of Stage 1)

in the course of six months (one year) reduction of the remaining 50% of armaments, forces and appropriations

complete prohibition of atomic, hydrogen, and weapons of mass destruction; discontinuance of their production; their elimination from armaments; all existing atomic materials to be used only for peaceful purposes

States institute a standing international organ for supervision of the treaty, this organ to have full powers of supervision, including inspection on a continuing basis, as necessary to insure implementation of the treaty

The General Assembly to direct the Disarmament Commission to study and clarify the Franco-British proposal prohibiting "use of nuclear weapons except in defense against aggression" and submit recommendations

18 March 1955, Draft Resolution

This resolution was essentially the same as that of 30 Sept 54 in its approach to reduction of forces and armaments; the basis for the reduction was changed, however, and some other points were added.

Stage 1 (action to be taken simultaneously)

reductions in armaments, forces, and budgetary appropriations to be based on levels which pertained as of 1 Jan 55 and the 1955 appropriations

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States to pledge not to increase armaments and forces above the level prevailing as of 1 Jan 55 and budgetary appropriations not above 1955 level

major reductions are necessary for the US, USSR, UK, France and China

for general disarmament it is necessary to convene in 1955 a world conference on general reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic weapons, to be attended by both members and non-members of the UN.

Stage 2 - same as Stage 2 of 30 Sept 54 draft except for changes in basis for levels

After completion of above two stages, "it is to be hoped" for further reductions of armaments and forces to levels strictly necessary for maintenance of internal security and obligations as signatories of the UN

#### 10 May 1955, Proposal

The levels of forces and the timing of the ban on nuclear weapons included in this proposal were adopted from figures proposed by the British and French, as was the "except against aggressors" clause.

Stage 1 - to be carried out in 1956

Parties to Convention not to increase their forces and conventional armaments above the level existing as of 31 Dec 1954 or the budgets above the level for the year ending 31 Dec 54.

reductions to be carried out within two months of the entry into force of the agreement

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US, USSR, UK, China and France to furnish  
the Disarmament Commission full official figures  
within one month of entry into force

figures for final level of forces:

US	1 - 1.5 million
USSR	1 - 1.5 million
China	1 - 1.5 million
UK	650,000
France	650,000

armaments and appropriations to be reduced  
accordingly

convention of a world conference on reduction  
of armaments and prohibition of atomic weapons  
with both members and non-members of the UN not  
later than first half of 1956

the strength of forces of other states shall  
be lower than the levels established for the five  
permanent members of the Security Council

discontinuation of atomic and hydrogen tests,  
with an international commission to be set up to  
report to the Security Council and General Assembly  
on this matter

States shall assume obligation not to use  
nuclear weapons and consider them prohibited except  
against aggressors when permitted by the Security  
Council

number of foreign bases to be liquidated in  
1st stage to be agreed upon

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Stage 2 - to be carried out in 1957

discontinuation of production of atomic and hydrogen weapons immediately; budgets to be reduced accordingly

completion of reductions to levels of 31 Dec 54

other States to follow measures adopted by World Conference

after reductions have reached 75% of totals laid down, a complete prohibition of atomic, hydrogen, and other weapons of mass destruction shall enter into force; simultaneously their elimination from armaments and their destruction, and final reduction of forces and conventional armaments shall begin; both shall be completed within 1957

States to promote international cooperation in peaceful uses of atomic energy, including free exchange of information in applicable fields and assistance to under-developed countries with no strings attached

complete liquidation of foreign bases

China's obligations are to be examined with the participation of the People's Republic of China

Control Measures - as a preface to these control proposals, the USSR stated its belief that control measures are ineffectual and unrealistic

Stage 1

an International Control Organization to establish posts on the territory of all States on the basis of reciprocity, at ports, railroad junctions, main motor highways, aerodromes

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the Control Commission to have unimpeded access to budget records (military) and the decisions of the legislative and executive organs of the States on budget

## Stage 2

the Control Commission shall have staffs based permanently in all States who, within bounds of control functions, shall have unimpeded access to all objects of control at all times (same locations for posts as in Stage 1)

The Control Commission shall make recommendations to the Security Council on measures of prevention and suppression of violators

## 18 July 1955, Bulganin Statement at Geneva

Bulganin's proposals were essentially the same as those presented in the 10 May 55 proposal

## 21 July 1955, USSR Proposal at Geneva

Repeated the 10 May 55 proposals

## 19 September 1955, Letter from Bulganin to Eisenhower

Noted Geneva agreement to work for an acceptable disarmament system through the foreign ministers

Stated that the USSR did not object in principal to the exchange of information on forces and armaments, but believed that:

all nations should submit such information to an international control and inspection organization (to be agreed upon)

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the exchange of such information is significant only if agreement on reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons is reached

a control organization should be considered only together with decisions for effecting gradual disarmament

Claimed that aerial photography omits consideration of forces and installations connected with the US and USSR but outside their borders; their omission proves photography of US and USSR is not an effective control mechanism; stated these outside bases should be included in the plan

27 March 1956, Proposal

This proposal marked a new approach for the USSR: it was limited to the reduction and control of conventional forces and armaments and omitted demands for the ban of nuclear weapons. However, it proposed a ban on the testing of thermonuclear weapons.

(On 16 July 1956, Shepilov called for the cessation of both atomic and hydrogen bomb tests independent of other measures and aspects of disarmament)

(On 13 Sept 1956, Bulganin, in his letter to Eisenhower, also called for a ban on tests and added that no special controls would be needed as it was now technically possible to detect from afar any explosion wherever it might occur)

17 November 1956, Proposal

In general outline, this proposal echoed that of 10 May 1955, including the same figures for the final levels of forces. It differed from the former proposal, however, on the following points:

1st Stage levels of forces: (these figures had been proposed by the US)

US, USSR, China 2.5 million

Britain and France 750,000

armaments to be reduced accordingly

Banning of atomic and hydrogen weapons, the discontinuance of their production, the complete destruction of their stockpiles and their withdrawal from armaments; to be completed within the 1st stage

1957: reduction by 1/3 of US, USSR, British and French forces in Germany and the establishment of control over their reduction

1957: reduction of foreign forces in the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries

The USSR will consider the question of aerial photography over an area extending 800 km. on either side of a line dividing the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries

Proposed a conference be held by the US, USSR, Britain, France and India

#### 18 March 1957, Proposal

This proposal was an amalgamation of the USSR's major proposals since 10 May 1955 incorporated once more in a two-stage plan. In addition, it included:

Immediate ban on nuclear testing independent of an agreement on general disarmament (this point had been offered before outside the Disarmament Sub-Committee but not in a formal proposal)

Agreement to aerial photography over the area accepted for consideration on 17 Nov 56

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Control of "guided rockets" (in answer to US proposal); claimed such control is closely allied with a ban of atomic and hydrogen weapons

Nuclear powers prohibited from stationing atomic military units or placing atomic or hydrogen weapons "beyond their national frontiers"

Offered to ban production of atomic and hydrogen weapons prior to their withdrawal from armaments and their destruction

(On 26 Mar 57 it was announced at a Moscow news conference that the USSR was prepared to conclude a temporary suspension of nuclear tests. This announcement represented a move to counter the US-UK Bermuda proposal that all nuclear tests be registered with the UN)

30 April 1957, Proposal

This proposal represented the Soviet willingness to try to come to a partial agreement on disarmament, including:

Reduction in conventional forces and armament:

15% reduction in armaments and defense budgets

commitment to undertake additional reductions after reaching 1st stage levels of 2.5 million and 750,000, to bring final levels to 1.5 million and 650,000

Nuclear test ban:

to be put into effect as a separate measure before completing the 1st stage of agreement

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Control and inspection:

control posts to be established only in the western border regions of the USSR, in France, Britain and other countries of the NATO and Warsaw Pact and in the eastern part of the US

control posts at airfields to be deferred to the 2nd stage and must be related to "approximate measures" for the ban and destruction of nuclear weapons and stockpiles

7 June 1957, Memorandum

The USSR maintained that the minimum terms acceptable for a partial agreement were those set forth on 30 April. It also:

Suggested that control posts be set up in the Pacific Ocean area as well as in the USSR, US, and UK

Declared that a temporary suspension of testing should last "at least two or three years" (the US had suggested ten months)

Accepted the US position that armaments reduction be negotiated in specific quantities rather than on a percentage basis as had been proposed on 30 April

(With the end of the Sub-Committee meetings in the latter part of July 1957, the USSR began a campaign to dissolve the existing Disarmament Commission and its Sub-Committee and to create a new Commission with a membership more favorable to the Communist Bloc. Specifically they proposed a standing commission composed of all 82 UN members, but later agreed to compromise on a 32-member body, half Western and half Bloc. In September disarmament discussions began in the General Assembly, and in October the Assembly voted an addition of 14 members to the original Commission effective 1 Jan 58, requested further discussions by the Commission, and called for a report to be submitted to the Assembly by



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30 Apr 58. The USSR announced they would boycott the Commission meetings, since the balance of power on the new Commission had remained with the West. Concurrently, the Soviets indicated a desire to remove disarmament discussions from the UN and to continue them at "the summit." In March 1958 they finally agreed to discuss procedural matters related to disarmament in the Security Council, but maintained--and have continued to maintain--their insistence on a summit meeting to settle substantive disarmament questions.)

20 September 1957, Proposal (General Assembly)

The points put forth in this proposal had been anticipated by Gromyko ten days earlier in a speech to the General Assembly. The proposal again is one for partial disarmament measures and is an amalgamation of measures proposed in the past with a few additions.

Reduction of forces:

to be reached in three stages: (see 10 May 55 and 30 Apr 57)

1st: 2.5 million and 750,000

2nd: 2.1 million and 700,000

3rd: 1.5 million and 650,000

these figures are to include civilian personnel employed by the military as well as regular military personnel

Reduction of armaments and military budgets:

armaments to be reduced by 15%, although the USSR agrees in principle to reductions through a reciprocal exchange of concrete lists of equipment

military budgets to be reduced by 15%

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Nuclear ban:

1st stage: assumption of an obligation to renounce the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons of all kinds, including bombs, missiles, and artillery

to enter into force simultaneously with the 1st stage of reductions and to last for five years

this temporary agreement should be examined as a separate, independent question and not be dependent upon an agreement on other aspects of disarmament

Control:

1st stage: posts to be set up at main ports, railroad junctions and highways, (subject to agreement) in the border areas of the USSR, in France, Britain, and other states of NATO and the Warsaw Pact

2nd and 3rd stages: posts at aerodromes; to be coordinated with measures for final prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons and their removal from stockpiles; stands on the acceptance of the 800 km. aerial photography zone originally proposed on 17 Nov 56

Reduction of foreign bases:

1st stage: specific bases to be agreed upon

bases in Germany to be reduced by 1/3 (or other agreed-upon figure)

the number of NATO and Warsaw Pact bases to be agreed upon

(6 January 1958. The USSR announced that it would unilaterally reduce its forces by 300,000 men, of which 41,000 would be in East Germany and 17,000 in Hungary.

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It was also announced that reductions proposed in August 1955 (640,000) and May 1956 (1,200,000) had been carried out.)

14 March 1958, Note to the UN Secretary General from the USSR

This note accused the US of attempting to place the USSR in a bad light and make it seem that the USSR was responsible for the deadlock in the Disarmament Commission.

It stated that the Soviet Union had proposed that a conference of the leading personalities of States be held in the very near future, with the participation of the Heads of Governments. It proposed the following topics for discussion at the conference:

The immediate discontinuance of atomic and hydrogen bomb tests

The renunciation of the use of such weapons

The establishment of a European zone free of atomic, hydrogen, and rocket weapons

The reduction of foreign forces stationed in Germany and other European states

It noted that "negotiations on specific matters connected with the organization of such a conference are now being actively pursued by the parties principally concerned."

It noted that the USSR had recently proposed a foreign ministers' meeting to be held as early as April 1958 in order to prepare an agenda and decide on participants at a Heads of Government meeting proposed for June 1958.

It referred to the current membership of the Disarmament Commission and reiterated that the USSR would not attend meetings of the Commission.

15 March 1958, Proposal (General Assembly)

This proposal refers to President Eisenhower's proposal to stop using cosmic space for the testing of military rockets and to stop the manufacture of such weapons, particularly the use and manufacture of the ICBM.

The USSR in turn proposed:

A ban on the use of cosmic space for military purposes, with pledges by States to launch rockets into cosmic space only under an agreed international program

The elimination of foreign bases on the territory of other States, primarily in Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa

Control of the above measures through the UN

The establishment of a UN agency for the promotion of cooperation in the study of cosmic space, its functions to include:

devising a program for launching inter-continental and space rockets for the study of cosmic space

continuation of the IGY cosmic research

acting as a collection center for, and promoting the mutual exchange and dissemination of, information on space research

coordinating national research programs for cosmic space

All of the points of this proposal to be discussed at a summit meeting

(31 March 1958. The USSR put into effect a unilateral nuclear test moratorium of unspecified duration.)

**5 May 1958, Proposals for a Summit Agenda**

This list of proposed topics for discussion at a summit meeting included political subjects as well as disarmament proposals; only the latter are included here. On the whole the disarmament proposals were similar to those of the past.

**Ending of atomic and hydrogen weapons tests:**

the USSR continues to stand by its June 57 proposal for control posts

the USSR believes it would not be too difficult to reach agreement on control measures after the US and Great Britain cease their testing

**Renunciation of the use of atomic, hydrogen and rocket weapons: no change**

**A European Zone free from atomic, hydrogen, and rocket weapons:**

to include Poland, Czechoslovakia, East and West Germany (the Rapacki Plan)

the States concerned could set up a "broad and effective ground and air control with the establishment of control posts by agreement"

**Conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries**

**Prohibition of the use of cosmic space for military purposes, the liquidation of foreign bases on foreign soils, and international cooperation in exploring cosmic space**

the above to precede the complete ban on atomic and hydrogen weapons, their removal from armaments, and the destruction of their stockpiles

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**Reduction of foreign forces in Germany and other European States**

forces in Germany to be reduced by 1/3 (or other agreed percentage) in 1958

**Prevention of surprise attacks on other states**

this question should be solved gradually

the USSR believes aerial inspection of the entire US and USSR could be taken up in the concluding stage of disarmament after solving completely the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons and their removal from armaments, reducing substantially forces and armaments, liquidating foreign military bases; i.e., after confidence has been established between States

**9 May 1958. Letter from Krushchev to Eisenhower**

The USSR agreed to conduct discussions on the technical aspects of control under a nuclear test moratorium.

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